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Keep the flag flying

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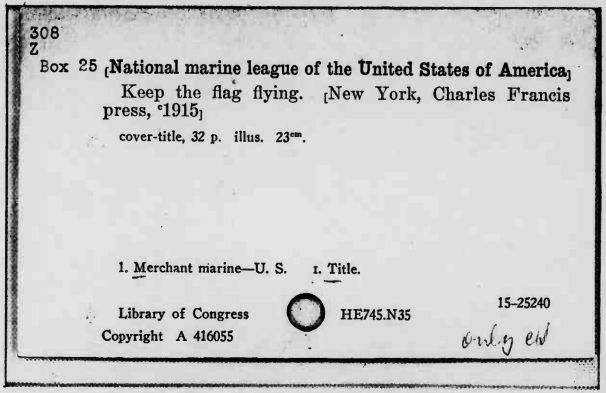

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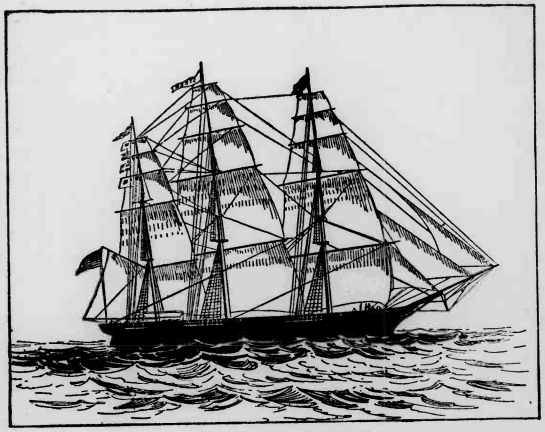

CLIPPER "SYRENE" OF SALEM, 1855

When America Was Supreme on the Seven Seas

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THE NATIONAL MARINE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.

Mn. R5, 1916-03.03

"Keep the Flag Flying!"

The National Marine League of the United States of America

(Charter Perpetual)

NEW YORK
18 Old Slip

WASHINGTON, D. C.
(Head Office) Wilkins Building, 1512-14 H St., N. W.

BOSTON
60 Congress Street

Purposes

To awaken the people of the United States, whether living on the seacoast or in the interior, to a full understanding of the necessity for re-establishing an American overseas Commercial Marine, particularly with a view to increasing our commerce with South America and Asia through the Panama Canal.

To bring about nation-wide recognition of the paramount need for providing export outlets for the products of our manufacturing industries, that labor and capital may be steadily and profitably employed.

By the compelling force of imperative public opinion, to cause the enactment by Congress of such laws as will most speedily and effectually restore our former standing as a great maritime nation.

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Keep the Flag Flying

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Foreword

IT is of little use for men and their machines to make things unless the things so made can be sold as quickly as they are manufactured. Consequently the problem of the overseas transportation of American products does *not* concern the so-called "shipping interest" to one-tenth the extent that it concerns the dwellers inland who provide the cargoes that make shipping possible. Therefore, though the reader's home and business may *seem* to be remote from and utterly dissociated with any form of maritime endeavor such is really not the case. The manufacturers and the farmers of the Mississippi Basin, their employees, and the American people at large have really built for non-American nations the countless millions of dollars' worth of shipping represented by "Vaterlands," "Imperators," "Aquitanias," "Mauretanias" and the vast fleets of freighters that carry over 90% of this country's exports.

Hence it is that the work of this League directly concerns *YOU*, to-day, and for all time, regardless of where you live, what kind of business you are in, how you conduct your business or to whom you (apparently) directly sell your goods. It means steadier employment and a larger income to you if you are working for someone else; continuous run of plant and decreased "overhead charges" if you are an employer of others; decreased taxation to all of us, and larger net returns on investments.

On no account must you lay this little booklet aside as not vitally concerning your daily prosperity. It does, and moreover it will not be long before *YOU*, also, of your own accord, will wish to become a vital part of, and to co-operate in a practical manner, with the aims and purposes of The National Marine League.

P. H. W. Ross

Our Maritime History

"Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade of the world; whosoever commands the trade, commands the riches of the world, and consequently, the world itself."
—SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

RESTORATION of the American overseas marine is not the concern of any one political party, nor of any particular interest or set of individuals, nor of any one section of our country; it is a NATIONAL issue, of vital moment to every man, woman and child throughout the whole land.

No nation has ever been truly great or become an important factor in international affairs unless it has also been great on the sea. The United States cannot reach its full growth and measure of progress until its shipping and commerce are relatively equal to its industries on land.

These facts seem to have been better understood by our forefathers than by the present generation. Wonderfully prophetic were Jefferson's words when, as Secretary of State in 1793, he said, of navigation:

> "Its value as a branch of industry is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches upon it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, WHEN THOSE NATIONS WHO MAY BE OUR PRINCIPAL CARRIERS SHALL BE AT WAR WITH EACH OTHER, IF WE HAVE NOT WITHIN OURSELVES THE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, OUR PRODUCE MUST BE EXPORTED IN BELLIGERENT VESSELS, AT THE INCREASED EXPENSE OF WAR FREIGHT AND INSURANCE, AND THE ARTICLES WHICH WILL NOT BEAR THAT MUST PERISH ON OUR HANDS."

Soon after its birth our nation was in dire distress. Foreign ships had flooded the country with foreign manufactures.

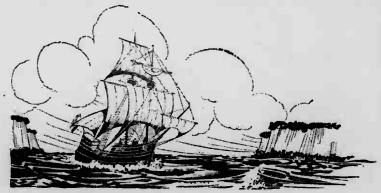
The products we exported were not sufficient to pay for our imports. The country was swept of its specie and the national debt had begun to grow; skilled labor could find no employment; and want and misery prevailed. The very independence of the new republic seemed to mock the people who now faced famine with all its horrors. But our first Congress, meeting in 1789, changed the order of things.

THE FIRST AID TO SHIPPING

This Congress passed a tariff act which Washington signed July 4, 1789, and which contained the first American declaration of maritime independence. This law provided a 10 per cent. reduction in duty on imports in American vessels, and was so arranged as greatly to favor American ships in the carriage of tea from the ports of the Orient. The adoption of this tariff tremendously stimulated home production. The diversification of industries soon afforded profitable employment for all. Our specie returned; manufactures flourished; shipbuilding grew by leaps and bounds; prosperity was restored, and the well-being of the new republic assured.

RAPID GROWTH OF SHIPPING

Previous to the adoption of our first tariff but 23.8 per cent. of the imports and exports of the United States was carried in American vessels. Five years later, under the new law, American ships were carrying 90 per cent. The loss of revenues caused by a discount of 10 per cent. in the duty on imports in American vessels actually embarrassed the government. The act, therefore, was amended, and instead of a reduction of duty in favor of American vessels, an increase of 10 per cent. was imposed on all imports in foreign vessels.



"We should no longer contribute directly or indirectly to the maintenance of the colossal marine of foreign countries, but provide an efficient and complete marine of our own."

McKINLEY.

High Tide of American Shipping

For a period of nearly forty years American ships carried an average of 90 per cent. of the foreign commerce of the United States. In 1826, they carried as much as 92.5 per cent., the largest proportion ever borne under the American flag in any year. In an outburst of pardonable pride in this wonderful growth of American shipping Daniel Webster said:

> "We have a commerce which leaves no sea unexploited; navies which take no law from superior forces."

That was in 1825; but Webster could not foresee America's humiliating position as a maritime nation in 1915.

Diagram No. 1 on the following page shows in comparative form the percentage of our commerce that was carried in American vessels in the different years specified. These figures offer to American citizens but little ground for pride today.

ONLY TEN PER CENT IN AMERICAN SHIPS

Until 1831 American ships carried an average of 90 per cent. of our foreign trade. In striking contrast with this record is the record for the past twenty years, during which time American ships carried an average of less than 10 per cent. But while the percentage of our commerce transported in American ships has dwindled to a negligible figure, the total value of our commerce, both exports and imports, has grown to a huge amount. From $71,670,735 in 1830, exports have increased to $2,364,579,148 in 1914, and imports, for the same years, from $62,360,956 to $1,893,925,657.

"The merchant marine service is the handmaid of all other industries, and of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. *On the day when the freight trade is given over to foreigners a mortal blow will be dealt to all the industries of the country.*"

—BISMARCK.

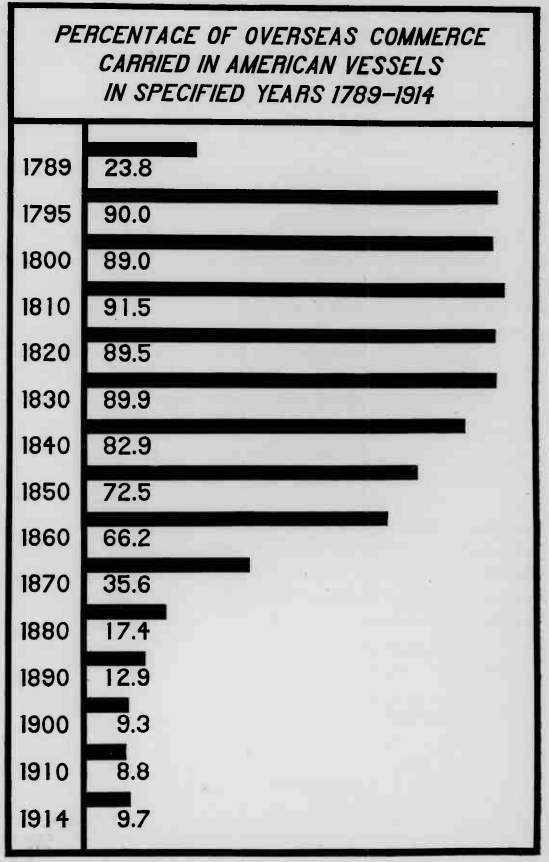


Diagram No. 1

Where We Stand in Shipping

The following table, prepared from Lloyd's Register, 1914-15, and the report of the United States Commissioner of Navigation, 1914, shows the number, and the net and gross tonnage of steam and sailing vessels of over 100 tons of the ten leading foreign nations, and of all vessels of the United States in the foreign trade except barges.

	STEAM			SAIL		TOTAL
FLAG	No.	Net Tons	Gross Tons	No.	Net Tons	No.	Tonnage
British	10,123	12,495,132	20,523,706	1,205	521,343	11,328	21,045,049
German	2,090	3,116,968	5,134,720	298	324,576	2,388	5,459,296
Norwegian	1,656	1,173,036	1,957,353	535	547,369	2,191	2,504,722
French	1,025	1,099,914	1,922,286	551	397,152	1,576	2,319,438
Japanese	1,103	1,088,333	1,708,386	....	.....	1,103	1,708,386
Italian	637	872,308	1,430,475	523	237,821	1,160	1,668,296
Dutch	709	910,123	1,471,710	97	24,745	806	1,496,455
Swedish	1,088	591,382	1,015,364	378	102,722	1,466	1,118,086
Austro-Hungarian	433	653,873	1,052,346	12	3,373	445	1,055,719
Russian	747	500,352	851,949	507	201,869	1,254	1,053,818
UNITED STATES	884	446,522	724,874	472	229,569	1,356	954,443

The figures for the ten foreign nations include both foreign and coastwise tonnage; whereas those for the United States includes only vessels registered for foreign trade. The comparison, nevertheless, is fair, for the reason that by far the larger percentage of the tonnage of foreign nations is engaged in overseas trade.

It will be noted that our total tonnage of steam vessels engaged in foreign trade is 724,874, the balance being made up of sailing ships and barges. But this disparity with foreign nations, notably England and Germany, hardly tells the whole truth of our maritime decadence; a study of the following table reveals it more clearly.

ANALYSIS OF UNITED STATES STEAM VESSELS IN FOREIGN TRADE

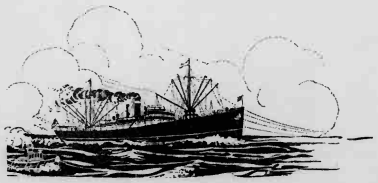
Classification	No.	Tonnage
Over 20,000 tons	1	20,718
10,000 to 20,000	10	120,198
7,000 to 10,000	10	86,068
5,000 to 7,000	30	181,214
3,000 to 5,000	34	124,814
1,000 to 3,000	52	104,796
500 to 1,000	58	40,319
100 to 500	125	30,066
Less than 100 tons	564	16,681
TOTAL	884	724,874

Lack of Big Ships

We have but one ship whose tonnage exceeds 20,000, the "Minnesota," built in New London, Conn., in 1904. This vessel is engaged in the Pacific trade, plying between San Francisco and the Orient. Also, there are only 10 American ships, in addition to the "Minnesota," whose tonnage measurements are in excess of 10,000. We have no ships whatever that are comparable with the giant vessels of the British and German lines, such as the "Mauretania," "Olympic," "Aquitania," "Imperator," "Vaterland," and many others. These great ships range in tonnage from 40,000 to 50,000.

"Upon the land our country is the envy of the nations. Upon the sea we are the shame of the world. Our flag has practically disappeared from the seas. It is but a memory in most parts of the world. You may make the circuit of all the oceans and not look upon the flag of your country. Seven hundred and fifty million dollars in capital invested in ships (and in foreign shipyards that built them) that carry American commerce! Why is not this vast industry here instead of abroad? Five hundred thousand men are employed in building and operating these ships. They receive $1,000,000 a day in wages. This should be paid to American labor. Today we deserve the contempt in which we are held by other countries. We are a blind and strutting fool among the nations. THIS IS NOT A PARTY QUESTION. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF POLITICS. IT IS A QUESTION OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY, OF NATIONAL PRIDE, OF NATIONAL SAFETY AND PATRIOTISM."

—REPRESENTATIVE HUMPHREY OF WASHINGTON.



"So long as our competitors own the ships they make the rates, they control the service, and they determine the routes. With this power it is easy to favor their own commerce and discriminate against ours."

—McADOO.

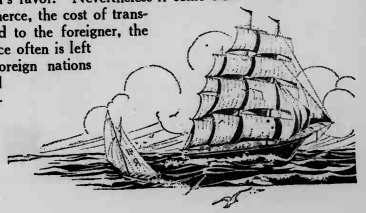
Our Misleading Trade Balance

A glance at our foreign trade balance—excess of exports over imports, which has averaged about $450,000,000 annually, for the past 20 years—would indicate that we are a creditor nation, and that each year there flows into this country a stream of gold from foreign nations to pay this indebtedness. But such is not the fact. On the contrary, despite this excess of foreign sales over foreign purchases, we send abroad each year obligations of one sort or another—stocks, bonds, mortgages, etc.—and actual gold or its equivalent to the amount of something like $2,000,000,000, to settle foreign claims against us.

This statement is borne out by Mr. Gardin, Vice-President of the National City Bank, New York. In an address before the National Foreign Trade Convention, Washington, D. C., May 27-28, 1914, in commenting on Mr. P. H. W. Ross's speech on our "balance of trade," Mr. Gardin said: "I think though that Mr. Ross underestimated rather than overestimated the case. This has been a favorite study of mine for the last ten or twelve years, and in pursuing the subject, I have consulted authorities in Europe—men of prominence in the economy of their particular nation—and they finally concur with me that the balance of trade against us is *much in excess of* $2,000,000,000. This is an important amount and presents a different picture from what is generally presented in official statements."

"The preponderance of exports over imports may fix the balance of trade in a nation's favor. Nevertheless if some other nation is carrying its commerce, the cost of transportation being paid to the foreigner, the balance of commerce often is left in favor of the foreign nations and must be paid in gold or its equivalent."

—OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.



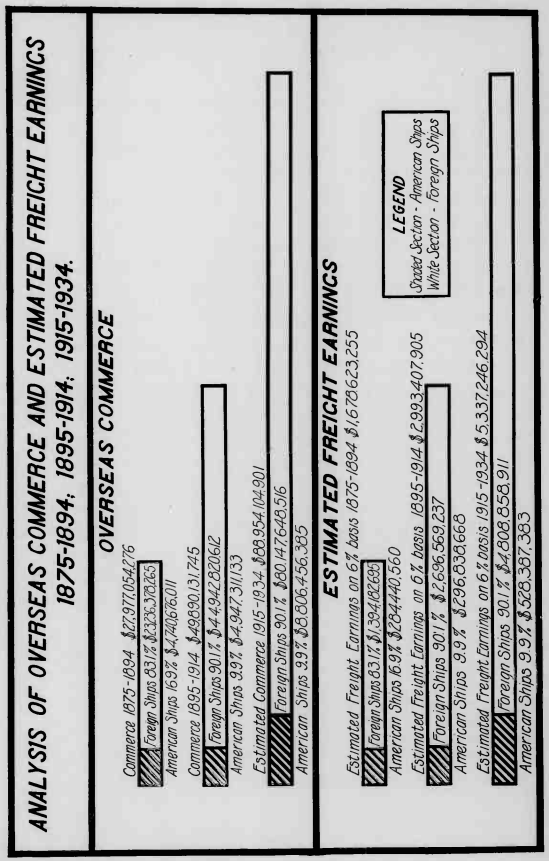

ANALYSIS OF OVERSEAS COMMERCE AND ESTIMATED FREIGHT EARNINGS
1875-1894; 1895-1914; 1915-1934.
OVERSEAS COMMERCE
Commerce 1875-1894 $27,971,054,276
Foreign Ships 83.1% $23,233,378,265
American Ships 16.9% $4,740,676,011
Commerce 1895-1914 $49,690,131,745
Foreign Ships 90.1% $44,942,820,612
American Ships 9.9% $4,947,311,133
Estimated Commerce 1915-1934 $88,954,104,901
Foreign Ships 90.1% $80,147,648,516
American Ships 9.9% $8,806,456,385
ESTIMATED FREIGHT EARNINGS
Estimated Freight Earnings on 6% basis 1875-1894 $1,678,623,255
Foreign Ships 83.1% $1,394,782,293
American Ships 16.9% $284,440,960
Estimated Freight Earnings on 6% basis 1895-1914 $2,993,407,905
Foreign Ships 90.1% $2,696,569,237
American Ships 9.9% $296,838,668
Estimated Freight Earnings on 6% basis 1915-1934 $5,337,246,294
Foreign Ships 90.1% $4,808,858,911
American Ships 9.9% $528,387,383
LEGEND
Shaded Section - American Ships
White Section - Foreign Ships

Diagram No. 2

Our Overseas Trade and Earnings of Foreign Ships

Our overseas shipments during the 20-year period ending 1895 amounted, in round figures, to $28,000,000,000; of this total American ships carried 17 per cent. and foreign ships 83 per cent. (See diagram No. 2.) Ocean freight rates in normal times average 6 per cent. of the value of the goods shipped; although at present they far exceed 6 per cent. (Government officials estimate that in December, 1914, the ocean freight rate was 13.6 per cent.) But on the basis of only 6 per cent. it cost the United States over one and a half billion dollars in freight alone to transport the commerce of this 20-year period, and of this amount American ships earned but $285,000,000, while foreign ships earned nearly one and a half billion dollars—a fact of deep significance.

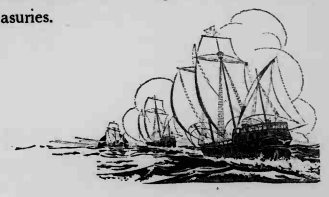
Our total overseas commerce for the 20 years just ended amounted to nearly fifty billions of dollars, an increase of 78.3 per cent. over the previous 20 years. In the carrying of this commerce American ships earned a little less than $300,000,000, and foreign ships MORE THAN TWO AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

Should foreign trade increase at the same rate during the next 20 years, it would amount to the huge total of eighty-nine billion dollars, and if the United States should remain stationary in the percentage of its commerce carried in American ships, foreign ships will earn during this period nearly five billion dollars in freight charges alone.

These figures do not take into account the millions earned every year by foreign ships in the carrying of passengers and mails, nor do they include the enormous profits on the cost of repairs, wages, stores, etc., now paid into foreign treasuries.

"Contact with the ocean has been one of the chief influences in forming character of nations as well as adding to their wealth."

—HUMBOLDT.



Our Gift to Foreign Nations

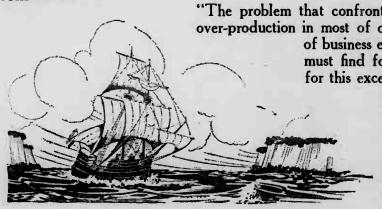
The average life of a ship is 20 years. Lloyds reports that the present world's tonnage of ships (in excess of 100 tons) is 49,089,552. Under normal conditions, $500,000 will build a 5,000-ton ship. On this basis we have bought and paid for during the past 20 years, in freight charges alone, the equivalent of 26,965,692 tons, or more than half the world's total tonnage to-day, and we stand ready during the coming 20 years, unless we awake from our lethargy, to replace this worn-out tonnage with new vessels, equal, on this basis, to 48,088,589 tons—all a gift to foreign nations.

"A glance at the harbor in New York will show great fleets of ships constantly added to by more and larger boats, which were built from the earnings of our country and constantly growing in earning power. There is plenty of profit if we can get into the business. At the present time we are faced upon the ocean by a monopoly of ocean carriers, together with inordinate naval powers; yet the very men who rail against domestic monopoly not only fail to appreciate this great menace to our national prosperity, but actually belittle the efforts of those who are attempting to awaken our people to a realization of it."

—LEWIS NIXON.

FOREIGN MARKETS A NECESSITY

History proves that no country not endowed with maritime ability has ever risen to first importance. History proves, also, that no nation can reach the pinnacle of commercial success unless it controls the transportation of its exports from producer to customer, and the banking, exchange, and insurance transactions which accompany that commerce.



"The problem that confronts us today is over-production in most of our great lines of business endeavor. We must find foreign markets for this excess or we must content ourselves with low prices, idle mills and factories, and labor out of employment.

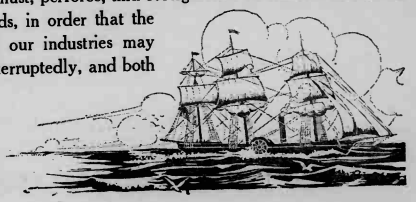
"I, therefore, contend that there is no problem that addresses itself more urgently to the business man and the statesman of today than that of the development of foreign commerce along sound and economic lines. Yet we find our commerce today in much the same condition it was in the first decade of the life of the nation."

—OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.

There is close affinity between land industries and overseas commerce. The development of the latter has direct bearing upon the employment of both labor and capital, and where a nation has no ships that development becomes correspondingly difficult.

Irregularity of employment is a curse to which poverty and discontent are sequel. With us in America it is either "feast" or "famine." Employment of capital goes hand in hand with employment of labor; and continuous employment for both is essential to our industrial welfare and progress. Demand regulates activity in all manufacturing institutions. When demand is less than capacity, factories must either run on short hours or else close down entirely from time to time, and when this condition obtains both labor and capital suffer; the cost of factory production increases; and there is corresponding decrease in our ability to compete with foreign nations for the world's trade.

In many lines of manufacture production outstrips consumption; and notwithstanding the tremendous absorptive powers of the United States our manufacturers in many lines are today face to face with this condition of output exceeding demand. Since our home markets are inadequate, we must, perforce, find foreign markets which will take up our surplus goods, in order that the development of our industries may flow along uninterruptedly, and both labor and capital find continuous and profitable employment.



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MEMBERSHIP	EDUCATIONAL	ENDORSEMENTS	FINANCE	EDUCATION of SCHOOL CHILDREN
Business Firms, Corporations, and Individuals	Illustrated Lectures Mass Meetings Newspapers Moving Pictures Correspondence Distribution of Literature Exhibitions Ship to visit various ports College Course	Chambers of Commerce Merchants' Associations Labor Organizations Farmers Grange Civic Bodies	To Provide for the Financial Support of the District	Debates in Schools School Centers Occasional Play Entertainments Etc.

ALL EFFORTS DIRECTED TOWARDS CREATING AN INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL DESIRE FOR THE AMERICAN CONTROL OF THE OCEAN TRANSPORTATION OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS

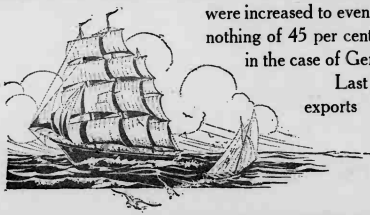
"SHIPS ARE A NATION'S SHOES"

As pointed out by Mr. Underwood, no economic problem confronting our country today approaches in importance that of developing foreign markets for American products. Such development means national progress instead of national stagnation, if not actual retrogression.

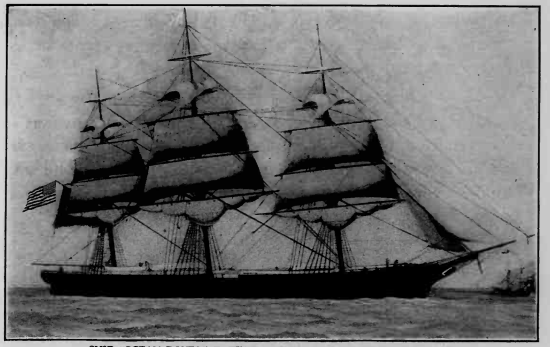
> "The volume and value of our manufactures far exceed those of any other nation. We export not to exceed 5 per cent. of them. Unless we shall find foreign markets for the surplus we shall have to curtail production. With ships of our own we would find foreign markets for our surplus products. We cannot curtail production, throw hundreds of thousands of workers out of employment, and stand still nationally."
>
> —ALEXANDER R. SMITH, Editor of *Marine News*.

OUR EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS

We export about 5 per cent. or one-twentieth of our manufactured goods; whereas, in normal times, England and Germany export, respectively, 55 and 45 per cent. In 1910, the value of our manufactures was $20,672,051,870; and it is estimated that the commercial census of 1915 will show that this yearly production has grown to the enormous total of $25,000,000,000. If we should develop our foreign trade possibilities to the fullest extent—which is possible only by possessing an adequate American merchant marine—the percentage of our exports of manufactured goods would greatly increase. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to picture the prosperity which would spread its mantle of contentment and happiness over the length and breadth of the United States if this 5 per cent. were increased to even 20 per cent.—to say nothing of 45 per cent. or 55 per cent., as in the case of Germany and England.



Last year (1914), our exports of manufactured products totaled $1,392,472,765. This amount would be increased to $5,000,000,000 on an export basis of 20 per cent., or about double the total of all exports at this time. If our manufactured exports were on this scale unemployment of labor throughout the United States would disappear and capital likewise would be actively engaged.

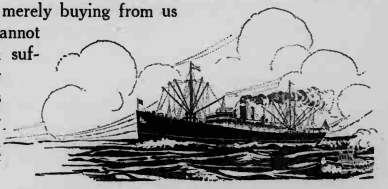


SHIP "OCEAN ROVER" ENTERING HONG KONG, FEBRUARY 20, 1865

Heretofore we have been an exporter of foodstuffs, and such exports have been a big factor in our favorable trade balance. But economic conditions are changing, and instead of an exporter of foodstuffs, we are coming to be an importer. Our exports exceeded our imports in 1900 by $314,658,913, but in 1912 we actually imported more foodstuffs than we sent out.

EXPORTS ASSUMING A COMPETITIVE CHARACTER

In the exportation of foodstuffs competition does not figure, for foreign nations are merely buying from us the things they cannot themselves grow in sufficient quantities for their needs; but this is not true of manufactured goods. In the marketing of



INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

As pointed out by Mr. Underwood, no economic problem confronting our country today approaches in importance that of developing foreign markets for American products. Such development means national progress instead of national stagnation, if not actual retrogression.

> "The volume and value of our manufactures far exceed those of any other nation. We export not to exceed 5 per cent. of them. Unless we shall find foreign markets for the surplus we shall have to curtail production. With ships of our own we would find foreign markets for our surplus products. We cannot curtail production, throw hundreds of thousands of workers out of employment, and stand still nationally."
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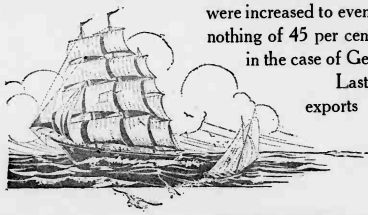

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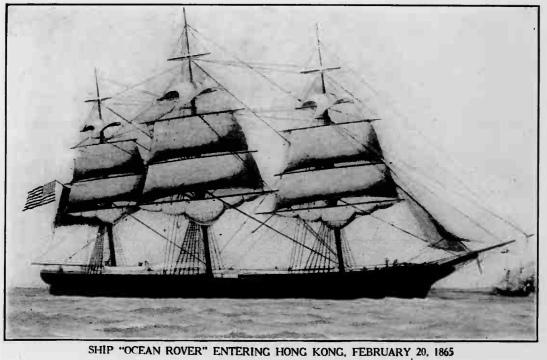

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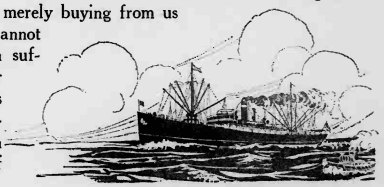


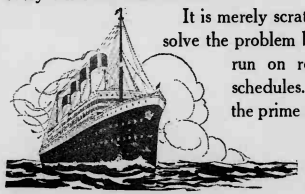
these we find ourselves in direct competition with other manufacturing nations of the world—keen competition, sometimes unscrupulous competition; and in the absence of American ships to carry our goods, competition which we cannot hope to meet.

The United States is like one great department store that attempts to compete with another while depending upon the delivery service of its rival. Under such conditions it could not possibly survive, for the business house owning the delivery service naturally would take every advantage of its position and deliver its own goods first and use every effort to capture the trade.

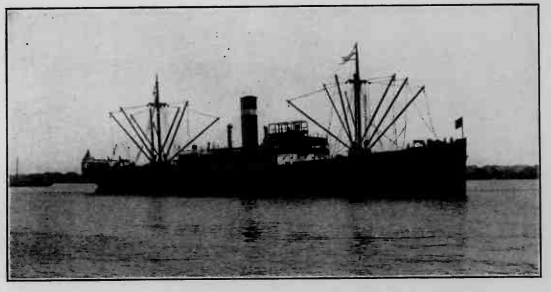
> "I am sure that I speak the conviction of all of you when I say that one of our chief needs is to have a merchant marine, because if we have to deliver our goods in other people's delivery wagons their goods are delivered first and our goods are delivered incidentally on their routes. This is a matter I have had near my own heart for a great many years."
>
> —PRESIDENT WILSON.

What Constitutes a Merchant Marine

Let us consider what really constitutes a merchant marine. It is unfortunate but true, that most of our people whose ideas represent "public opinion" visualize great Atlantic liners whenever they think of a merchant marine, for these vessels are most in evidence to the traveling public who visit our large eastern sea ports, and their size and magnificence appeal almost in an emotional way to the eye and mind. But it is not due to this class of ships alone that Great Britain stands unrivalled as the world's cargo carrier; it is to the tremendous number of her first-class tramp steamers, with their enormous cargo capacity, that she owes her preponderance over every other maritime nation.



It is merely scratching the surface to attempt to solve the problem by acquiring a few steamers to run on regular routes and with fixed schedules. Ships of the tramp type are the prime necessity in international trade. The tramp has no schedule. If a poor harvest in the United States cuts off grain

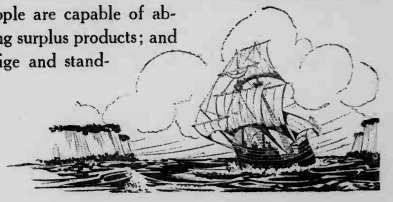


S. S. "SANTA CLARA"—W. R. GRACE & CO. LINE

export, the tramp that has worked in the North Atlantic seeks freight at the mouth of the Danube, or in South Russia, or the Indian Ocean, or the East Indies. Wherever freight is offered there she may go; to Rangoon for rice; to Calcutta for jute; to Java for sugar. It would be absurd to engage in the international trade with such ships and confine their operations to the carriage of our own exports and imports alone; for under such arrangement they would for the greater part of the time be proceeding in ballast, while their competitors, roaming over all the world, usually with full cargoes and consequent greater earning power, would be able to underbid them in rate quotations on American cargoes when those cargoes were offered.

ADVANTAGES OF HOME-BUILT SHIPS

Merchant ships of our own would safeguard the nation against the withdrawal of foreign ships in time of war; would establish and maintain direct communication between the United States and foreign countries whose people are capable of absorbing our increasing surplus products; and would give a prestige and standing to the country that it could not otherwise hope to attain. One easily sees how the lack



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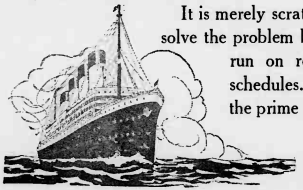

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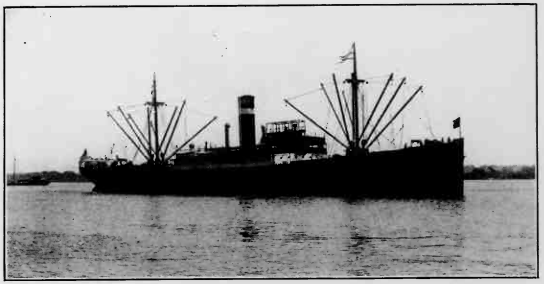

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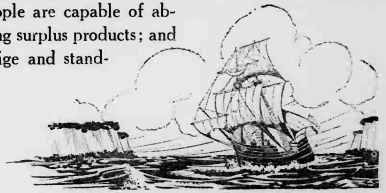

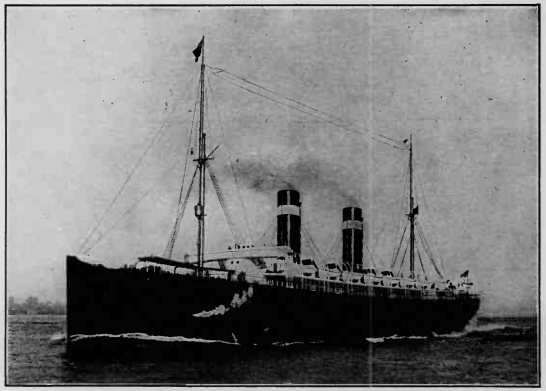

S. S. "ST. PAUL"—AMERICAN LINE

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Merchant ships are essential as auxiliaries to the navy and army in time of trouble; such vessels, and the masters, officers and men who run them would be invaluable to the nation in emergency.

These are good reasons why, from a national point of view, we should have a merchant marine of our own, and they explain why foreign nations possessing a merchant marine have been willing to do what was necessary, in a national way, to procure and maintain it.

TALK WILL NOT REBUILD OUR MERCHANT MARINE

No other object of vital national concern has received more consideration by our lawmakers, commercial bodies, and public press than has the American overseas marine; but in spite of all this study and effort the United States stands today relatively less important among the maritime nations of the world than at any other time since its birth as a republic.

If argument and discussion could bring about a revival of Ameri-

can shipping, long ago our flag would have been a familiar sight in the harbors of the world, for in Congress and elsewhere every phase of American shipping has been considered not once but many times, and from every possible angle. There are a thousand documents prepared by government agents and others crowded with detailed facts and figures relating to shipping.

This seemingly endless discussion shows clearly that the chief reason our overseas marine cannot expand is that American ships are unable to compete economically with foreign ships, because of certain advantages given to foreign ships by the countries whose flags they fly. Why is it, then, that after so many years of fruitless effort to revive our shipping Congress does not recognize this fact and take such steps as are necessary to meet the situation?

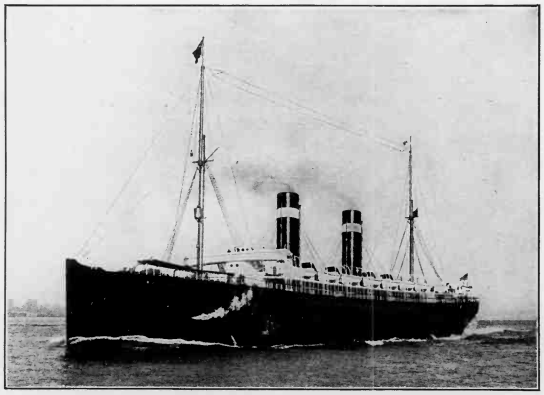
WHY CONGRESS HAS FAILED TO PASS PROPER SHIPPING LAWS

The United States has about eight thousand miles of seacoast, with twenty-two states bordering more or less on the ocean, which means that the remaining twenty-six states—more than half—are inland, and have only indirect water connection with the sea or none at all.

These twenty-six inland states send fifty-two senators and two

S. S. "FINLAND" IN THE GAILLARD CUT, PANAMA CANAL, FEBRUARY, 1915.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



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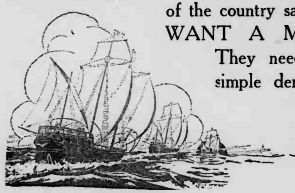
hundred and thirty-seven representatives to our National Congress, of a total of ninety-six senators and four hundred and thirty-five representatives—more than half in each branch of Congress. These inland senators and congressmen represent a population of 49,470,543, as against a population in our seacoast states of 42,170,654.

The larger percentage of people living 200 miles and over inland have never seen the ocean; they do not know what an ocean liner or freighter looks like, except for occasional pictures which may have come under their observation.

It means, also, that at least 70 per cent. of the people of the United States who elect congressmen and who influence their votes are entirely out of touch with maritime matters. A merchant marine means nothing to them whatever. And congressmen reflect the attitude of their constituents.

> "The future of our merchant marine is still considered by most Americans as a matter of local interest, in which shipbuilders and shipowners, with their employees, have a predominant interest. It is true that in our ports and along our coast states there is an awakening of public opinion upon the importance of this subject, BUT IN OUR INLAND STATES AND AMONG THE GREAT MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE THERE IS APATHY." —SECRETARY REDFIELD.

If Congress has failed to enact proper shipping laws in the past sixty years, is it not logical to assume that there has been no great demand from the people as a whole for such laws? And is it not logical to assume, also, that the absence of such demand has been due to lack of knowledge on the part of the people—the 70 per cent. referred to—of the national necessity for such laws? Who could doubt what the action of Congress would be if the great voting population of the country said to their congressmen "WE WANT A MERCHANT MARINE." They need not particularize; just the simple demand that the United States shall take its proper place among the maritime nations of the world would suffice.



Important but Ineffective Effort

Most important have been the deliberations, resolutions, referenda and reports of such great organizations as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, of the City of New York, of Boston, and many other larger cities.

These bodies represent the flower of America's business intelligence, responsibility, initiative and experience. They are doing a splendid and noble work, giving unselfishly of their time and talent for what they regard as "the good of the Nation."

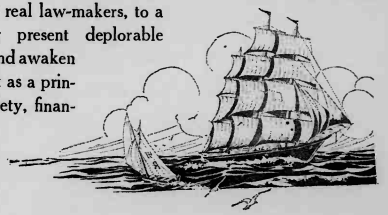
But it must be remembered that the units composing these Associations are almost entirely "Masters" and "Employers" in the Industrial World.

Now legislative results ensue from the composite attitude of the entire voting strength of the Nation. There is the student or school teacher, the clerk, the laborer, the farmer, the landowner, the "rentier," the soldier, the agitator, the reformer, and now the woman-voter, an infinite variety of opinion, some vaguely distrustful, some blindly hostile and the majority apathetic, none of which will *naturally* fuse with the homogeneous trend of thought of Chambers of Commerce and "Big Business."

Of what influence is the action of Commercial organizations on the Kansas Farmer, the California orange-picker, the Pennsylvania mechanic?

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

Thus we come to the crux of the whole situation; "The sceptre has passed," as Mr. Elihu Root said, "from big business to the proletariate;" how shall we bring the masses of our people who, in the last analysis are our real law-makers, to a knowledge of our present deplorable maritime condition and awaken them to the fact that as a principle of national safety, financial and otherwise, we must have American ships sailing the Seven Seas?



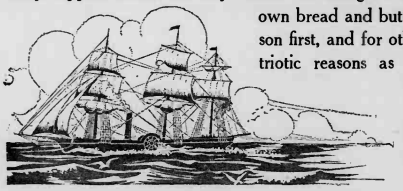
How Germany Built Up Its Merchant Marine

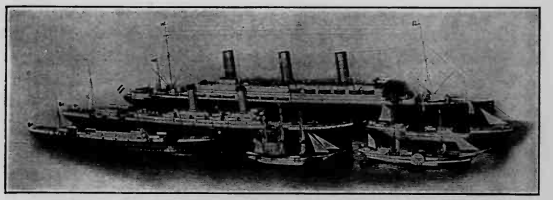
Years ago their national leaders, realizing that Germany would perish as a commercial and industrial nation unless she provided herself with her own merchant marine, and thus controlled the ocean transportation of her own products, appealed to the German financial world for succor; they were told "You can make all the laws you like, but how are you going to get the money with which to build German ships? You cannot borrow it from England to build German ships to compete with English ships, nor from France either. You must get it from the German people and you can do so only by partnership with the population at large and with their co-operation of thought and purpose. The people must know that there will be sensible maritime legislation which will insure safety and permanence thirty years hence of maritime investments made today."

Subsequently the German Marine League was formed, and today it has over four thousand branches in the towns and cities throughout Germany. The school children sing the praises of German ships, and every man, woman and child in Germany knows that his country's success "lies on the water."

Manufacturers, mechanics, laborers,—all sorts and conditions of men,—in the far interior, people who have never seen and who possibly may never see salt water, are members of the German Marine League. And why? Because they wish to support the "hated shipping monopoly"? In the lexicon of Germany's common sense there is no such word as "monopoly" in connection with German shipping.

Do they support the League because they desire to favor the seaport cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Stettin, and others? Not at all. They support it because they realize the League vitally affects their own bread and butter—for that reason first, and for other good and patriotic reasons as well. It is the German *PEOPLE* who keep the movement alive.





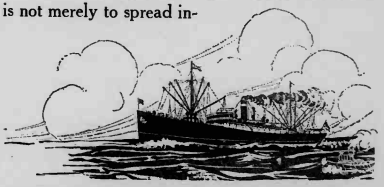
U. S. GOVERNMENT EXHIBIT, PANAMA EXPOSITION, 1915, SHOWING A CENTURY OF SHIPBUILDING

IN THIS WAY GERMANY GAINED HER COMMERCIAL FREEDOM, AND IN THIS WAY WE SHALL GAIN OUR OWN.

There is no doubt that effective legislation on maritime affairs will follow public demand for it, but not if this demand comes from what is termed the "shipping interests," or only from the people living in the maritime states. IT IS THE PEOPLE OF THE GREAT MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH WHO HOLD THE DESTINIES OF THE NATION IN THEIR HANDS. And relief must come from them not as a matter of charity to the petty remnant of our foreign shipping or as a favor extended from the inland to the maritime states, but as a matter which vitally concerns the inland states themselves, involving their own permanent prosperity, and as a recognition of the economic fact that only by selling goods to non-Americans can we liquidate our indebtedness to foreigners and decrease the awful "over-head charges" that must be met before buying even a pound of beef or a loaf of bread.

The National Marine League

The National Marine League has been established to do for America what the German Marine League has done for Germany. Its purpose is not merely to spread information and quicken the interest of our people, but to obtain their active daily co-operation in the tremendous work



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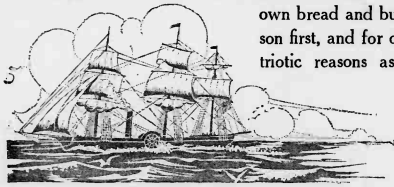
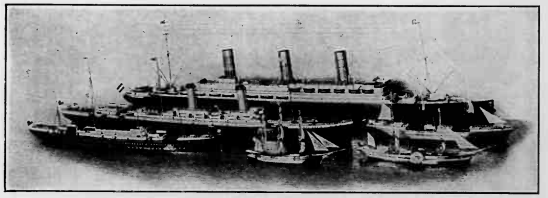




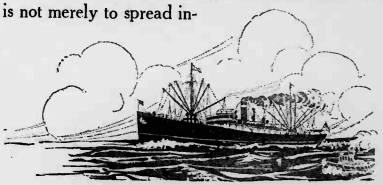
U. S. GOVERNMENT EXHIBIT, PANAMA EXPOSITION, 1915, SHOWING A CENTURY OF SHIPBUILDING

IN THIS WAY GERMANY GAINED HER COMMERCIAL FREEDOM, AND IN THIS WAY WE SHALL GAIN OUR OWN.

There is no doubt that effective legislation on maritime affairs will follow public demand for it, but not if this demand comes from what is termed the "shipping interests," or only from the people living in the maritime states. IT IS THE PEOPLE OF THE GREAT MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH WHO HOLD THE DESTINIES OF THE NATION IN THEIR HANDS. And relief must come from them not as a matter of charity to the petty remnant of our foreign shipping or as a favor extended from the inland to the maritime states, but as a matter which vitally concerns the inland states themselves, involving their own permanent prosperity, and as a recognition of the economic fact that only by selling goods to non-Americans can we liquidate our indebtedness to foreigners and decrease the awful "over-head charges" that must be met before buying even a pound of beef or a loaf of bread.

The National Marine League

The National Marine League has been established to do for America what the German Marine League has done for Germany. Its purpose is not merely to spread information and quicken the interest of our people, but to obtain their active daily co-operation in the tremendous work



which The League has undertaken. It hopes to marshal all America, shoulder to shoulder, in support of a great cause, assisting in every way possible its patriotic efforts to restore our country's flag to the High Seas. It wants all our people to enjoy the material benefits which must follow the upbuilding of a creditable merchant marine:—The revival of shipyards, and of the iron and steel trade; Continuity of run in manufacturing plants; Regularity of labor employment; Gradual extinguishment of foreign indebtedness; and the spread of American products, ideas and ideals throughout the whole world.

The League is not a "shipping league" nor a "merchant marine league" nor a "Navy League"; it is a league of the Nation itself in the work of extending the entire range of its maritime possibilities and of retaining the enormous indirect values that accompany a nation's foreign-going shipping.

The League's efforts are not polemic; it takes no part in the vexed question of Panama tolls, of Government ownership, of coastwise shipping, of questions as to how much one group of Americans engaged in railroad transportation shall receive for their service in comparison with another group of Americans engaged in water transportation.

None of these things affect the real purpose of The League, which is, to combine all classes in a united effort to uphold our own labor and our own industries in the titanic war constantly waged by the forces of international commerce.

ALL CITIZENS SHOULD JOIN THE LEAGUE

Every citizen is urged to become a member of The National Marine League. Members have subscribed from many thousands of dollars to $1.00, each as his means permitted. All contributions are gratefully accepted.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE LEAGUE

Any citizen of the United States may become a member of The League by subscribing to its funds. Subscriptions are divided as follows:

Founder—one payment, $250.00 or over;
Life membership—one payment $100.00;
Sustaining membership—$25.00 per annum;
Associate membership—$5.00 per annum;
Annual membership—$1.00 per annum.

Certificates of membership will be issued to all contributors.

HOW FUNDS ARE USED

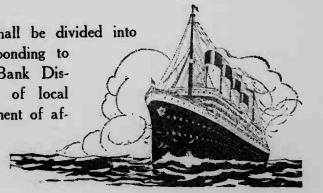
The funds of The League are expended in organizing branches, employing lecturers, in newspaper and publicity work, and in spreading information broadcast over the country, to the end that permanent legislation may be enacted in Congress that will restore the American Flag to the high seas.

The League will keep the spirit of our people eternally vigilant in the cause of our maritime development. The campaign which it has undertaken is of vital importance to all our people, and with its success follows the material prosperity of every one of us.

NATIONAL IN ITS SCOPE

That The League may be national in its scope, the plan of organization adopted is to divide the United States into 12 districts similar to the Federal Reserve Bank Districts, and to form a Council of The League in each of these districts. The by-laws of The League in this respect provide as follows:

"The United States shall be divided into twelve districts, corresponding to the Federal Reserve Bank Districts, for convenience of local work, and the management of affairs in each district shall be entrusted to a council of seven or



more, to be fixed and chosen by the members of The National Marine League resident in the district in meeting assembled, from among themselves, with power to select all officers and agents deemed necessary to prosecute the work of 'The League' within the district.

"The principles underlying the policy of each district council shall be non-sectionalism, non-political-partisanship, and the strictest impartiality in presenting before any public or private body the case of any specific industry, interest, or organization of capital or of labor. The message of The National Marine League is not from the 'East' or the 'West,' or the 'North' or the 'South' to the Nation, but is from The People to The People."

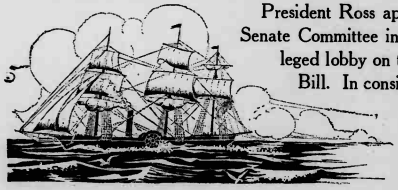
The first District Council was organized in Boston, Mass., February 10th, 1915, at a meeting held in the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

Other District Councils will be formed as rapidly as The League shall be able to proceed with its organization work.

MANAGEMENT FREE FROM DOMINATION

The National Marine League of the U. S. A. is an organization which will be of perpetual benefit to the people of the United States. As near as human ingenuity could arrange, The League can never come under the control of any industry, political organization or so-called interest, nor can it ever become the tool of labor or capital, nor of any trust or other organization. Fifty-one per cent. of the stock is held in trust for the benefit of the population at large.

INTEGRITY OF TRUSTEES HOLDING CONTROL

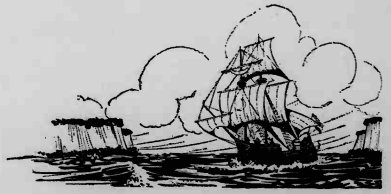


President Ross appeared before the Senate Committee investigating the alleged lobby on the Ship Purchase Bill. In considering the trusteeship of these 501 founder shares, Senator Walsh, Chairman of the

Committee, suggested that trustees might be chosen "who will not carry out your purposes." To this suggestion Mr. Ross replied: "If you have 499 men from all over the United States and some great man is chosen to be one of these trustees, it would be very, very difficult indeed, considering the personnel of the board, for such a person as you suggest, who might be a selfish or a designing man to get control. When men are associated together for a worthy purpose, out of which they cannot make a dollar, and they stand before the public because they are representing a great and noble movement, such men cannot do things of that kind. I do not know of any other way by which human ingenuity can arrange an organization that has so few avenues of attack as ours has."

"There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation."

WASHINGTON.



Ships Are a Nation's Shoes

A MAN who wishes to go forth into the streets of a city and do business with his neighbors must wear shoes—his own shoes. In international trade the "streets" of the world are the wide oceans. America can no longer content herself with "Home-market" business; no longer confine her maritime energies to slipping around her own coasts. The condition of labor, agriculture, manufactures, and indeed the whole economic continuance of American commercial life demands that America "go forth" and sell her products to the wide world; she must put on her "shoes," that the Stars and Stripes may again become a familiar and welcome visitor to every port of the Globe.

This Is a Ship that Carries an Idea Not Merchandise

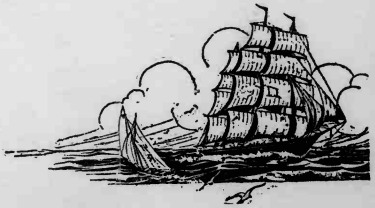
The great commercial nations at present holding the foreign carrying trade of the world are our competitors in those very markets abroad that we should develop and maintain for the support of American Labor, and American Manufacturing and Export Industries.

"Keep the Flag Flying" is not merely a pleasing and patriotic expression; it is a stern admonition—an insistent reminder to business America of a national essential.

It is impossible to restore the American Flag to the wide seas unless remedial and adequate legislation is effected.

No enduring legislation is possible unless it is based on an active, imperative public sentiment demanding it.

CHARLES FRANCIS PRESS
NEW YORK



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